

CRISIS. EXTRAORDINARY.

WEDNESDAY, August 9, 1775. [Price Two Pence Half-penny.]

Project Ampullae.
**On South of Slavery more than Death afraid,
Gage wastes his Pardons and his Gasconade.**



GENERAL GAGE'S Proclamation lies before me, and it is not a Subject for Criticism, yet it deserves Notice, we may overlook the style, but not the substance. The Declaration with which the General may Command, with what Spirit he may Fight with what Prudence he may Retreat, is yet unknown; but if his Conduct in the Field is equal to his Composition in the Closet, the Success of his Majesty's Arms must be owing more to Fate than Judgment. This *underhand* Proclamation opens with great Solemnity, bold Assertions, and notorious Falshoods; it proceeds with the *perfidious* Spirit of the Times; but alas! its imperious Offers of Clemency, and its concealed Menaces, are vain alike. The one will make no Converts for Want of Confidence; and the other can make no Cowards for Want of Power, to subjugate AMERICA entirely by Means of our Fleet and standing Army, is impossible, the Thought only proves, that Administration is as weak as it is wicked, should they be determined, like their misguided Master, to persevere, they will, e'er long, find it impracticable either to go forward, or to retreat, they will (let them mark the Words of an unknown Writer) oblige the PEOPLE, throughout the Empire of GREAT BRITAIN, to take the Power again into their own Hands, even Anarchy is preferable to DESPOTISM, especially while the Government is in the Hands of Fools, Madmen, Knaves and Tyrants; hard Usage justifies hard Names:— Let us now proceed to this alluring Proclamation; this flimsy, political Trap for antiquated Roman Virtue.

The

The General thought fit to arraign the Conduct of the *Americans* as *Incendiaries* and TRAITORS against the *Constitutional Authority* of the State; if the Word *Incendiary* has any Meaning in the English Language, it can only be applied with Propriety to One who is the first Kindler of Commotions in a State; according to our Constitution, the very Head that wears the CROWN may be an *Incendiary* by encouraging a FACTION, which may as well originate in the Court, as in the Cottage; if the KING and his Parliament, devoted to a vile *Administration*, combine to persevere in carrying any one Point against the *Constitution*, they are from that Moment, a *Faction*, (*Incendiaries*) and not a GOVERNMENT; they are TRAITORS, TRAITORS to the PEOPLE. Let me now ask, whether FACTION first took rise in AMERICA, or the Mother Country? In that Spot (wherever it may be) we must look for these INCENDIARIES and TRAITORS. I have put the Question fairly; it is simple, plain, and determinative,—I pause for a Reply,—not from the Mouth of a haughty Pensioner, a Scotch Placeman, or a fawning Courtier; but by the Decision of a true Constitutionalist, I am willing to abide; in the Interim, I shall declare my own Opinion. That the Mother Country, represented as she is, by a *corrupt Majority*, first formed a *Faction* herself, against the Laws and Liberties of AMERICA, may she has done more; she has artfully formed even a *Religious Faction* (the worst of all others) upon that great Continent; Her Government has of late been administered upon such mistaken, narrow, rotten Principles, that she did not think herself secure, till she had established POPERY by Act of Parliament at Quebec, by Way of fomenting Dissentions and Enmity in those Dominions she would enslave; or Administration knew and feared the Principles of the People upon that Continent, they had read that their Ancesters were Puritans, and no Friends to TYRANNY or POPERY; they knew their Designs, and planted Papists in their Rear, to keep their REBELLIOUS SUBJECTS (as they call them) between two Fires, and to deter them from taking refuge in the Back Settlements; but they have Numbers and Virtue sufficient to enable them to keep, or at least to recover their Ground. Thus have a corrupt Majority, (falsely called the Great Council of the Nation) themselves departed, and encouraged Government to depart, in this as well as numberless other Instances, from the Line of Right laid down at the Revolution; a Period but little revered by our State-pilots, BUTE and MANSFIELD, these two Men, with their Lacqueys in and out of Parliament, are the real and only INCENDIARIES of AMERICA. The wretched Americans (unjustly branded by every Hireling with the Name of TRAITORS) are only busied, and justly busied, in extinguishing those Flames, which such a Government, (if it deserves the Name of one) has kindled; whether the Americans are Traitors, or unhappy Subjects making a lawful Resistance to repeated Tyrannies, must be determined, not

By

by Hirelings, who assassinate for Pay, but by those who pay them with Reluctance, by the collective Body of the People, in whom all Power virtually resides, from whom it originates, and to whom it must, perhaps, shortly dissolve again. What the General calls *Treason* this collective Body (an awful Tribunal) will pronounce *Constitutional Resistance*.

The Americans are next accused of a fatal Progression of Crimes against the Constitutional Authority of the State.—By the Term *Constitutional*, if the General means an Authority constitutionally exercised, I deny his Assertion; it is as little founded on Truth, as our Ministerial Measures are upon sound Policy, Justice, and Humanity; when the Principles of the Constitution are abandoned (as they have lately been) the State may proceed authoritatively, or rather despotically, but it cannot be said to act constitutionally.—That the Americans avow REBELLION, I deny likewise, that they avow RESISTANCE (as their brave Ancestors once did, and as all true *Revolutionists* will do) every *Briton*, as an Enemy to Slavery, must Rejoice.

For the Patience and Lenity of the KING's (in Truth of Lord *Bute's* and Lord *Mansfield's*) Government I appeal to FACTS. Those, who are Masters of the Disputes between *England* and *America*, and stand unbiaſſed by Corruption, will pass an impartial Judgment between the Oppressors and Oppressed; we doubt not but the Sovereign's Patience is equal to his other God-like Attributes; but we know that the Patience of AMERICA has been severely tried, among other Invasions, she has been stripped of the most valuable Privilege, the Birthright of a British Subject, *Trial by Jury*. In many other Instances Government has attempted to enslave them; and shall the Aggressors presume to boast thus of their Patience and Lenity? at what Time, in what Particulars, were they exerted? were the humble Supplications and Remonstrances of AMERICA received by either, and by which of the three great Estates of this Kingdom? If so, a *Norton*, and *Appley*, or some Ministerial Parricide, can inform us; but if they were (and they really were) rejected with Contempt by ALL, what Pretence, what Effrontry have the Tools and Sycophants of Power, to insult the Understandings of Mankind with SOUNDS? What HOPES (for such the General talks of) could AMERICA ever entertain of such an Administration, such a Parliament, and such a Sovereign? She has, (alas!) been driven to Despair, by all; nay, her Supplications have been finally answered by those divine effects of *Patience* and *Lenity*—FAMINE and the SWORD. Thus are those who are entrusted (as the General says) with supreme Rule; manifested to all the World, that they bare not the Sword in vain. Could GEORGE the THIRD, that Mirror of *Perseverance*, that *Idol* of an abandoned Ministry, present the Sword of Justice, like the old Heathen Emperor, to the People, and bid them use it for HIM, or against HIM, according to his *Deserts*? if he could, he then bears not the Sword in vain, but in Defiance of Heaven and Earth; in Defiance of all Laws, Human and Divine; nor can he bear it long.

But

But the most sacred Rights of the Crown, and People of *Great Britain* (says the General) have been infringed.—It is a most audacious Piece of Military Insolence; after the late Act of *Tyranny* assented to by the *Steady Sovereign*, to join the Names of Crown and People together, as if their Views and Interests were still (as in Truth they ought to be) the same. Blind to its own Interest, to its Honour, to its Establishment, to its sacred Engagements, at the Altar, has the Crown (whose sole Aim is plainly Despotic Power) consulted the Interest of the People, in its Disputes with AMERICA? the Rights of the *Crown and People* were stipulated a new, at the Revolution; But has the Crown kept its Compact, with the People of *America*? if not, by whom have the Rights of the People been infringed?—As to the Rights of the Crown as stipulated at the Revolution, they are well known, and have been religiously submitted to both at home and abroad, even in *rebellious America*, but when it begins to stretch out the Arm of Usurpation, it is Time that its Despotic Sinews should be shrunk.

That the *Americans* have been guilty (and bravely guilty) of *Premeditation and Conspiracy*, is most true. They have been provoked to *Action*, and they were too wise to act without *thinking*. They have most virtuously *conspired* against *Tyrants*, and disdain to wear the Chains of the *most pious King*, the *wisest Administration*, and *most incorrupt Parliament* that Great Britain ever knew.—For these Demerits the *Fullness of Chastisement* is threatened. But suppose the *Chastisers* should be *Chastised*? I have always understood that true Courage was ever accompanied by the greatest Modesty. History is full of these Examples. But our Ministry (like their *Sandwich* and their *Denbigh*) have idly thought that *America* may be subdued by *Gasconade*. Such corrupt Wretches are Strangers to the great Effects of Virtue. Sad Experience will inform them soon that all human Souls are not as abject as their own.

The *Americans* are next accused of an *unnatural Revolt*. If by this Expression is meant a Revolt against their *natural Allegiance*, I answer, that when *Protection* is first unjustly withdrawn on the *Sovereign's* Part, all *Allegiance* ceases on the *Subject's*. The *Subject* must then recur to the Rights of Nature; *Resistance* may ensue but no *Revolt*; for the *Sovereign*, by breaking his Compact has set the *Subject* free. A Politician would reason thus; but a *Soldier* has no Idea of any Mode of Government but by the Sword.—We are then told that our Colonists *dared not trust their Cause to the impartial Judgment of the Public*, or even to the *dispassionate Reflection of their Followers*.—But with what Truth? Were not the general Congresses throughout the Continent of *America* so many open Appeals to the Judgment of an impartial *Public*? were not the flagitious Prints, the popular Harrangues, the Declamations from the Pulpits (which the General complains of) so many Incitements to the cool, dispassionate Reflection of their Followers? indeed, *General*, you should always reason Sword in Hand.—

The

The Pen is not your Fort.—You are lost upon Paper, and must at last submit to be vanquished in the Field. PUTNAM is in earnest.

The Poor Americans are charged in the next Place with a Suppression of Truth.—with obstructing every Appeal to the real Interest of the People; with the grossest Forgeries, Calumnies, and Absurdities—To say that the Americans have been guilty of suppressing Truth, forging Falshoods, venting Calumnies and imposing Absurdities, upon their Party, is but a kind of petulant Recrimination; these dishonourable Proceedings (if true) are but the common Stratagems of War, they are not peculiar to one Side only—The King's Party has practised them; all the insidious Spies of Government have practised them; General Carlton, has practised them most basely; you yourself, General Gage, have practised them as dishonourably, but after all this malicious, spleenetic Recrimination, a Proof of *Treason* and *Rebellion* against these injured People? In Spite of all this foul Language, the World will think that there is as much Veracity, Virtue, Candour, Honour, and true Courage on the Part of Freemen who defend, as on the Part of *Tyrants* who invade their Liberties.—I now wish to be informed of these APPEALS which have been made (if the General says true) to the real Interest of AMERICA.

Through what Channels have they passed? Have either of the three great Estates of this Kingdom, or has the Minister, or even a single Tool or Lacquey, of Administration, has a *North*, a *Sandwich*, or a *Denbigh*, once condescended to advise, admonish, or expostulate, with America? Has the Secretary of State for that Department ever had Orders to write in such a Strain? Have not all Lord *Bute's* servile Clan, endeavoured, on the contrary, to carry every Thing with a high Hand, and a menacing audacious Front? Have they not shut their Eyes, Ears, and Hearts, against every humble Approach, every filial Intercession of *America*? These insolent Invaders of Royal Charters, human Rights, and established Laws, have been too much flattered with the Hopes of *Conquest* to wish cordially for a *Reconciliation* with *America*. They have industriously stopped up every opening towards it. The Mouths of our Patriots and our Citizens have been stopped by corrupt Votes, and Majestic Insults; as to the Proposal made by Lord *North* in his House of Commons, it was calculated for the Contempt it met with. His Lordship was not quite Fool enough to think it could take Place. By whom, then, has any Appeal to the real Interest of *America* been made by those who would exterminate the People?

The Prostitution of the Press makes the next Item in the General's Catalogue of Complaints; If the *American* Press has been prostituted, I pray that *Doctor Johnson* may be called upon to declare, upon the Honour of a Court-Pensioner, how gloriously the *English* Press has been employed in the Cause of Truth by his Brother Garreteers; even the Eloquence of the Laity and Clergy

Clergy has been exerted (says the *General*) to *excite and justify Devastation and Massacree*.—Can a Soldier, who should be a Man of Honour, assert so gross a Falshood? It is notorious that no one *popular Harrangue* (as the *General* calls them) has been made in *America*, with any other View than that of animating their gallant Countrymen to a just Defence of their Liberties, Properties, and Lives; the noblest Purpose of which the distinguished Gift of Speech can serve. That the brave and virtuous *Americans* have animated each other in Support of their National Rights, will be recorded in History to their immortal Honour; that our perfidious Government has armed the *Papists*, whom they patronize at *Quebec*, with a View of destroying their Protestant Subjects, is a Circumstance which will make a Figure of a different Cast in History; and will most assuredly bring the Advisers of that Measure to an ignominious Death, in Spite of the standing Army, employed and paid at present, for no other purpose than that of protecting TYRANTS; whether *popular Harrangues* made it one Case, or *Arms* supplied in the other, is most Characteristic of National Honour and Virtue, may easily be determined.—And to this the *base*, the *cowardly*, the *traiterous* Design of Government (after all their Parade and Military Bluster) of surrendering *Canada* to the *French*, a vast Province acquired last War, at the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure. This pusillanimous Thought has been suggested to gratify a despairing TYRANT.

I now accompany the *General* to the Account he gives of the Action of the *Nineteenth of April last*, respecting an Attack upon the KING's Troops from *behind Walls, and lurking Holes*.---Be it so; yet, who can believe that the KING's Troops should have been unprepared for *Ambuscade*, or any Acts of hostile *Frenzy*, as the *General* calls it? Have not the *Americans* been driven to this *Frenzy*? Is it not common for an Enemy to take every Advantage? Is it not uncommon, nay, impossible, that Troops, charged with *Vengeance*, should be *unprepared* to take it? They could not be *unprepared* for taking it, if they were *armed*; nor would they *decline taking it*, if they were *Scotchmen*: Their not taking it, therefore, must be owing, either to a Want of Spirit, a Want of Conduct, or a Want of Power. Since that Period (of the *Nineteenth of April*) says the *General*, the *Rebels have derived Confidence from Impunity*.---Is it a Matter of Merit, then, with a mercenary Soldiery, that they did not execute what they were unable to effect? This is talking like a Driveler *General*! But these *Rebels*, these *Traiterous Revolutionists* in *America*, have dared to *fire upon the KING's Ships and Subjects*—Granted—but have not these *Ships* invaded them, have not these *Subjects* (why did you not say, *Soldiers* and *Marines*) threatened their Destruction? Is the Doctrine of passive Obedience, and Non-Resistance to the Divine Will of TYRANTS, to be observed by the insulted and enslaved *Americans*, till they felt their *Sovereign's* Bayonets in their Bosoms?—These *Rebels* have proceeded even further; they have *affected* (says our *General*) to hold the KING's Army *besieged*—Have they? May Heaven prosper such a glorious Piece of *Affectation*!

festation! Every *Constitutionalist* throughout the British Empire, hopes they will not only *affect* it, but *effect* it: Every true-born Briton longs to see the final Triumph of *America* marked as an *Epoch* in the future Annals of his Country; nor would their Joy be checked by the Appearance of another *blessed Martyrdom* in the Calendar. *Tyranny* and *Martyrdom*, like *Representation* and *Taxation*, should go together.

The Charge of *Invasion upon private Property*, and a *Wantonness of Cruelty*, is not only indecent, but imprudent, from that Mouth which commands the KING's *Banditti* in *America*, who have so daringly themselves invaded the Liberties, the Properties, the Laws and Lives of a free People, with the Sword; merely, because they claim, and will maintain, the Rights of *Englishmen*.

As to the Actions of the *Nineteenth of April last*, which so often haunt the *General's* Mind, they ought to stand for ever recorded in the Calendar, to the eternal Honour of *America*, who that Day not only totally disappointed, but bravely resisted, no inconsiderable Party of the KING's *military Assassins*. If any *Improprieties* were committed on that *Nineteenth of April* by the *American Troops*, which cannot easily be pardoned by so consummate a Soldier as *General Gage*; yet, their gallant Behaviour on the *Seventeenth of June* following, must surely have deserved his Admiration. They did not fire then from *behind Walls and lurking Holes*, but bravely faced, attacked, and defeated, the TYRANT's Forces. This appears sufficiently, even from the Letter which has been artfully imposed on the Public for *General Gage's* genuine Account of that Action; but let the *Minister* shew forth the *General's* real Letter, if he dares. His Master lost his Colours when he read it; and I verily believe that even Lord North (the ostensible Minister) is not himself entrusted with the true Contents of it. His Lordship is but the Drudge. He has the Name without the Confidence of a Minister; and meanly submits to be responsible for Iniquities not his own. The real genuine Letter (so dreadful are its Tidings) is a Secret to all but the TYRANT, and his *Gemini*, the *Castor*, and *Pollux*, of his Cabinet, *Bute* and *Mansfield*. They dare not publish it.

I am now come to the *last Effort* within the Bounds of the *General's* Duty, to spare the *Effusion of Blood*, which he is strictly charged to shed without Mercy or Reluctance. The *General*, according to his Orders, most dutifully dispatched his blustering Colonel *Smith* to commence the intended Carnage. This Bully failed; yet Blood was unnaturally and unjustifiably drawn by our *hireling Cut Throats* at *Concord*; and then the *General*, in Commiseration of the *Calamities* which his *murderous Army* had occasioned, most humanely offers, two Months afterwards (when he found himself unequal to the Task of *Conquest*) his Majesty's most gracious Pardon to these unhappy Sufferers. Your treacherous Offer is disdained—away with it!—and *massacree* (if you can) but without an Insult, the bravest Men in the British Empire. Did not the Ancestors of these brave Spirits spurn the insidious Proclamation of that *Tyrant Charles*, and shall their Sons fall a Prey to the delusive Orders of a weaker

weaker TYRANT, and a more consummate Hypocrite?—Will not the gallant ADAMS, and the meritorious HANCOCK fall with their Country, if it is her fate to fall? Or, should they be unfortunately taken Prisoners, will they not cast an indignant Smile upon the Wretch, who should affect to pardon them, after he had enslaved their Country? The proclaiming all *America* (except the KING's *Roman Catholic* Subjects, and good Allies at *Quebec*) TRAITORS, is but a contemptible Echo of that Act of Parliament which declared them so long since, for consulting and preparing, only against an intended *Massacre* by Sword and Famine. — *America* despises your Threats, your Clemency, and all naval and military Terror and Parade, thou impotent TYRANT! This General concludes his *Galconade* with a most notorious Falshood, by asserting that the present *unnatural* Rebellion of the *Americans* (as he calls it) has stopped the *Administration of Justice* in that Country.—For Shame, For Shame! General, a Soldier! and guilty of a *Lie*!—Your Master knows, you know, the whole World knows, that the rotten Parliament of this Nation not only stopped the Course, but extinguished every Benefit of the *Common Law* (the Subjects great Inheritance) when they dared take away the Privilege of *Juriet*. The Design was base, atrocious, glaring, perfidious, and tyrannical; but why does this unthinking Tool of military Power call the *Royal Charter* of the Province to his Aid; that *Charter*, which his Master and his *Parliamentary Junta* has so grossly violated? Is that *Charter* unfavourable to *freedom*, and can it now serve the Cause of *Slavery*? Has it hitherto been slighted, and is it now made Use of to betray the People for whose Protection it was granted? Has it been so often disallowed, with an indignant Sneer, when *America* petitioned for *Redress*, and is it now set up against her by the shallow Tools of Power, when she is defending those Rights and Liberties which it gives her? Is this *Royal Charter* now called in Aid of *despotic Measures*, through Weakness, Insolence, or Inadvertency? Why, General, General! Your haughty, unrelenting Master, tramples on the *Royal Charters* of his wiser Predecessors. I tell thee, *Homicide*, that the Faith of KINGS is now no more. Our very *Laws* must shortly truckle to the *Sword*. The *Law Martial*, which you have just proclaimed (and of which you may shortly taste yourself) will, if you succeed in *America*, be at length the only Law of *England*. *Mansfield* is an Advocate for summary Proceedings. The Die is cast in the *Great Drvan* (the wise Council of this Nation) and those who would rise again to the State and Liberties of *Englishmen*, must rise through BLOOD. The *Parricides* of this *Constitution*, General, are to be found in *England*, not in *America*; unless among the established *Papists* at *Quebec*; nor can *Happiness*, *Peace*, *Liberty*, and *Law*, be now restored (unless *Providence* miraculously intervenes) but by another *Revolution*.

C A S C A